2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Anáfi, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

CATTLE-BREEDING

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12173 head of cattle and 63473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall.

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ben)* is elected. The *ben* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 ●556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiate is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores.

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possesions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power. 756 782

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and may ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby. [539]

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice. 755 756

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their children are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he usually only has a few children. 756 [737] [556 595]

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 562 624 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 484 626 [535 513] A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

[753 755]

431 425 [788] When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

[533]

425 431 After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. Once in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

735 241 fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

788 735 241 If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

425 ●556 It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his [626] threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luahs*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

[556] Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

[226] Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 [361] At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

[361] [312] [415] 482 Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

Ororo is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth* which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyireth* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1630.

18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.

19. *Tish mi Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship.

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29].

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places).

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well.

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming